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PROGRAM Press Conference: STATION C-SPAN
Ambassador Zdzislaw Rurarz

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SUBJECT Full Text

HOSTESS: Dr. Zdzislaw Rurarz, former Polish Ambassador to Japan.

A week and a half ago you were sentenced to death by a military court in Poland on the charge of high treason. What does that mean?

ZDZISLAW RURARZ: Well, the military tribunal in Warsaw, on December 17 of this year, has sentenced me to death in absentia for the high treason. And believe me that just upon my defection, probably the next hour, I was already sentenced to death. But only now it was announced. And this means that they will be -- of course, not only the Poles, those from the equivalent of the KGB under the military intelligence service, but of the Soviet special services and all the Eastern countries, including Cuba and so on -- they will be trying to carry out the verdict. There is no doubt about that.

HOSTESS: Are you concerned for your safety here in the United States?

RURARZ: Well, I have decided to fight for free Poland and I consider myself as a soldier of free Poland. And, well, the soldiers should be prepared for anything.

HOSTESS: Okay.

We're here tonight with Dr. Zdzislaw Rurarz, the former Polish official who defected to the United States and who's been sentenced to die by a Polish court.

To talk to him, you might start dialing right now....

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Zdzislaw Rurarz served as a Polish Ambassador to Japan from February to December in 1981, and was to become Ambassador to the Philippines, but then was granted political asylum in the U.S. Prior to his post in the Polish government, the Ambassador was an economics professor at the Central School of Planning and Statistics in Warsaw. Between 1976 and '81, Ambassador Rurarz was an economics adviser to the Minister of Foreign Affairs in Poland. Also, he has served as economic adviser to Edward Gierek, the Communist Party chief, and has served also in many other advisory capacities in the Polish government. Overall, he's been an official of the Polish government since 1953.

Isn't that right?

RURARZ: Yes. That's true.

HOSTESS: Thank you for joining us tonight.

Mr. Ambassador, the Polish government has met in its last session today under martial law. Martial law will be lifted on New Year's Eve. Is the government taking this step for the benefit of the Polish people or for some other reason?

RURARZ: Well, for some other reasons, because the government is facing definite economic and social and political difficulties, and especially the government wants to reopen the negotiations with the Western governments and Western commercial banks, not only rescheduling of debt, which partly is still not rescheduled, but on new fresh credits. And they want to create the impression that the situation is returning to normal.

But I don't believe in any lifting of the martial law. This will be the martial law, only different by name.

HOSTESS: ...Let's go out to Glendale, California....

MAN: Mr. Ambassador, I would like to congratulate you on the courage it must have taken in your defection, and welcome you most warmly to our country.

And I have three short questions, one of which I think has almost been answered. I was wondering if the United States has offered you protection from our security services.

And then secondly, I'm curious to know how much the average Polish citizen knows about what's going on in the world in general. Like how much censorship and lack of communication is there in Poland? Does the average Polish citizen know the support that he has in the United States?

And thirdly, if you can briefly, can you personally tell

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me of any plan which you may be a party to or can suggest that may eventually get your country out from under the Russian yoke?

RURARZ: I thank you very much for your kind words.

Answering the first question, I think I am provided with sufficient security by the U.S. authorities. I enjoy their understanding and support.

And secondly, when it comes to how the Polish opinion is informed about what is happening in the West, what the West thinks about Poland, I think that, through the Voice of America, through Radio Free Europe, Radio France, Vatican, BBC, Deutsche [unintelligible], the Polish public opinion is well-informed about what is happening here in the West, what the West is doing when it comes to Poland. And so the people know.

When it comes to the official propaganda and official mass media, these are lies, lies, and only lies.

Thirdly, what I will be doing, if I understood correctly. Well, I will be trying to teach the economics of the Communist countries and to participate in some research. But taking my special status here, I have to remember about the sentence which is hanging on me.

HOSTESS: ...Out to Taylor, Michigan.

MAN: Could you -- I don't know if you have any information about it or not. But they made an attempt on the Pope's life. Is there a possibility that another attempt could be made on his life?

RURARZ: I am not excluding that. However, I think that right now it will be much, much more difficult, because I think that the world opinion was that much alerted, that it would be difficult to proceed with another attempt immediately upon the first failure. But I would not exclude that. As long as the Pope will be doing what he's doing, will be that much attached to Poland as he is -- and certainly he will be -- he will always be the threat to the Soviet domination in Poland.

HOSTESS: As you mentioned during the press conference, the Italian government has recently unearthed some evidence that indicates the Bulgarians might be involved. Do you believe that's possible?

RURARZ: Certainly. I know something about the special services of the Eastern countries. It is out of the question that a Turk that much known for his assassination, who escaped from the prison -- nobody really knows who was helping him to

escape from the prison -- that he came to Bulgarian and then he left Bulgaria with money, that he was living quite freely, changing the hotels, and so on and so -- so that this is out of the question that the Bulgarians would be unaware of whom he was, and that, besides, they would be not trying to use him for this attempt which he did.

I am not, of course, sure whether he was not recruited before by the special services of the Eastern countries, because this is not known to me. I think that I would be not excluding even that. Because why he immediately escaped to Bulgaria? This is something which is raising my eyebrows.

HOSTESS: San Diego, California.

MAN: Mr. Ambassador, I'm wondering, in the 50 visits that you had to the Soviet Union, were you able to get a sense of the people, the working people, as Solidarity does in Poland? Can you tell me, is there anything that suggests that there is a bottom-up kind of movement that there is going on in Poland -- I don't know what I'm trying to say.

RURARZ: Yes. I understood.

Well, I have been many times to the U.S.S.R. in the last 30 years. The last year, in June and in July, I was in Moscow. Already when I was Polish Ambassador to Japan, I was traveling to Poland via the U.S.S.R. And I know the Russians and the Soviets, I think, quite well.

Well, I should like to say, very frankly, that although I believe that many Russians and other nationalities in the U.S.S.R. are unhappy with the system they have, that many even organize and protest, in this or another way, still I think there is no comparison to the public mood, if I may say so, in the U.S.S.R. and in Poland.

In the U.S.S.R., this Bolshevik Revolution was their own. And many of them, they honestly believe in their revolution. And don't forget that for the last 65 years they have been brought up under this new system. Whereas in Poland, the communism was imposed by the U.S.S.R., it was never accepted by the population. I know this only too well because I, myself, was in the Communist Party of Poland. And believe me, I hardly met a real communist in Poland. But this is not true about the U.S.S.R.

They have the sense of being superpower, of having some would-be mission in the world. And many of them, unfortunately, honestly believe in those would-be ideas. And this is unfortunate. And I would be not counting too much on the revolt

or something like that, as the case was in Poland.

HOSTESS: Let's go back out to Michigan. Hazel Park....

MAN: ...I would first like to compliment him on his courage, and certainly it took a lot of courage for him to do what he did.

What I wanted to ask him was this: Can he -- after being here in America, can he notice the difference between the news media there and here, in the sense that it seems as though that our media is constantly on the negative side of the policies of the President, and certainly the Administration? And I know as a citizen, myself, it's left me rather concerned. I don't understand why that we're not fully informed -- our people aren't, certainly -- on the atrocities and the feebleness of the Soviet Union and the Soviet bloc nations. I can't understand why we don't seem to get the truth from the media.

I'd like to get his comment on that.

RURARZ: Well, I am sorry, you know, I will be a bit too diplomatic. If you don't mind, I would prefer not to comment on your question. I think that you -- I mean the Americans -- you have the right to make any comments on that. I am only the guest here.

Well, I have very mixed experience. But believe me that your mass media are a million times better than anything in the East. Also, they are probably still not as good as they should be. But this is up to you to discuss and to improve that. And if you don't mind, I would stop on that.

HOSTESS: Mr. Ambassador, you say that the Polish people as a whole don't support communism. In a recent interview, Lech Walesa has stated that any victory to be attained should be done -- should be attained politically and not through force. Would you agree with that?

RURARZ: Well, unfortunately, I have to agree. Unfortunately, I say, because throughout our history we were always fighting with the arms in our hands for our freedom. This time the situation is, unfortunately, very much different. We cannot, ourselves -- I mean the Poles alone -- beat the Soviets. Quite simply.

Therefore, many of us choose, as I did in the past, to change the system by staying within the system, even within the establishment.

Right now, to reach out for arms would be an extreme

bloodshed in Poland, and certainly would end in a debacle. But I am not excluding that one day it can come to that. Because if the people become desperate and if there is no improvement in anything -- we are 36 million, and several millions of us live in the West. Nobody will kill all of the Poles. Nobody. And the people one day may have enough of everything and may start fighting. And it would be, I think, a problem for the Soviets to quell this Polish revolt.

What I cannot forgive Jaruzelski -- and this was one of the reasons why I have defected. It is that if he would resist to the Soviet pressure, I think the Soviets would probably not risk to invade Poland militarily. Certainly they would beat the Polish Army, but at a very high price. And they probably would not risk that. Now they can do this because the Polish nation is a bit split. Well, there is a couple of thousands of Zumwatpruvs (?) and others and the establishment, the generals and so on. They are siding with the Soviets. So that this is certainly bad and this is complicating the situation. But sooner or later, I believe that if the Soviets do not understand the Polish situation, I think they must be prepared that the Polish movement -- I mean this resistance -- will become more radicalized.

But we are in a different situation. We are not in a situation comparable to that one in Afghanistan. We are surrounded by the Soviet divisions. There are only 15 Polish divisions against 65 Soviet divisions in Poland and around Poland, plus East German, six divisions; plus Czechoslovak, 10 divisions. We are, the Polish troops, poorly supplied with ammunition, with some other material, and so that it would be difficult for us to win.

But certainly -- certainly everything has the limits. And one day I would be not excluding that kind of solution.

HOSTESS: Let's go down south to Homestead, Florida.

MAN: Ambassador Rurarz, this is Mr. Morris. I'm glad you used the expression U.S.S.R. and U.S.A. Perhaps you'll instruct, as a professor, our commentators in this country not to refer to the Soviet Union as Russia and the United States of America as Americans, as you know why. We have North Americans, South Americans, and everything.

Now my question. Would you suggest that Das Kapital, as you know, that Karl Marx wrote as a timetable of our destruction, be instructed, not indoctrinated, instructed in American schools on the secondary level, before they can get into college, so they can ask their professors intelligent questions?

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Also, you remember Mao Tse-tung wrote a timetable of our destruction, and Hitler wrote a timetable of the West's destruction, Mein Kampf.

Thank you, sir.

RURARZ: Well, I think that what Marx, by the way, wrote, nobody really knows. What he wrote could be edited in something like 40 volumes. Eleven volumes have been re-edited. Eighteen have been very, very much twisted, depending on who was editing and when. Everything was changed. And 11 has -- 11 volume have been never edited. So that if somebody says that he knows Marxism, I must doubt.

Besides, Marx, as you know very well, he wrote Kapital for 23 years, and only 20 copies of his Das Kapital, the first volume, were sold. And this is -- I read Kapital several times, and this is a complete misunderstanding from a purely economic point of view. This is nothing.

And we know -- I mean many Poles -- much more about what Marxism means in practice. I am afraid that people here in the West do not know much about that. And especially, sometimes Marx, Engels, and so on, are unnecessarily glorified. And if many people were really reading what Marx and Lenin were writing and would, by the way, even the [unintelligible] in English, like Lenin's works and so on, I think that many would have no slightest illusion, as you rightly say, about the goals of Marxism-Leninism.

That's my opinion.

HOSTESS: ...Let's go out to Indianapolis, Indiana.

MAN: I'd like to welcome you to this country and say that I support the efforts of Solidarity and hope that things are straightened out so that one day you can return to your country in freedom.

But I have one question I'd like to ask that kind of disturbs me. I saw an American newscast that showed that some Polish people who had left were migrating to the Union of South Africa. And I'd like to know, are large numbers of people who have left, you know, moving to South Africa? And the reason why I ask this, it disturbs me that they would move to South Africa, you know, and the type of repressive government they have against the majority black population there. And I'd just like to have your comment on that.

RURARZ: I fully understand you, and I am also disturbed that this is happening. But you have to understand that right

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now, according to very incomplete statistics, there is about 150,000 Poles in the West looking for a place to live. And as you know, there is the quota here in the United States and, of course, in Western Europe and in Canada, and even Australia is recently limiting. So that many of these Poles neither can return to Poland nor stay in many camps for the refugees, in Austria, especially, and in Western Germany. And unfortunately, some of them, they believe that by going to South Africa, maybe after some time they will be able to move further, to Australia or to the United States or somewhere, or even perhaps return to Poland one day if the situation would change, as you believe and I also do believe that it will change.

But I agree with you that this is unfortunate. And, of course, I would prefer them not to go. But please take into account that some of them are waiting at the refugee camps for more than one year, having no prospective of going to any country. And returning to Poland would be certain persecution of many, if not worse than that.

HOSTESS: To Middletown, Ohio.

MAN: Good evening, Dr. Rurarz. I welcome you to the land of the free. And I hope your stay with us is a long and happy one.

Doctor, I have two questions for you. The first is on the Polish national budget. As you know, the Jaruzelski government, economically, is balancing on the edge of disaster. Don't you agree that in the long run it would be to the best interests of all the Polish people for the United States to say now that we will no longer save that dictatorship from financial insolvency, and say to the Russians that if they insist on enslaving the Polish people, that they must accept the responsibility to feed them and clothe them?

And my second question is upon dealing with the Russians on such terribly important questions as disarmament and control of nuclear weapons and nuclear freeze, and so forth. Our President has declared that at any time it suits their purpose, the Russians will lie and cheat to gain their ends. Would you agree with our President on that statement?

RURARZ: Well, concerning the budgetary deficit, really, it is very big in Poland. In terms of dollars, it is difficult to say what it is. But the budgetary deficit is something like 15 percent of the GNP in Poland, and it is growing.

By the way, I have very strong suspicion that this budgetary deficit is to a large extent thanks to the very, very expanded security police activities in Poland. By the way, prior to the strike wave in Poland in 1980, the burden of military spendings and spendings on the security police in Poland was

probably equal to 20 percent. It is difficult to calculate because everything is very secret. But this is a very heavy burden, something like four times, relatively, as big as here in the United States. And this is exclusively in the Soviet interest because we do not need to spend that much. And this continues.

You should remember that the Polish Army is the third-largest army in Europe, after Soviet Army and West German Army. We have about 4000 tanks. And even Poland is producing more tanks than the United States. What for? Because we are supposed to participate in the Soviet aggression against Western Europe, or, more precisely, against Northern Germany and some other smaller countries. So that this is there.

And as long as this continues, whatever reform or would-be reform would be done, if that burden stays with the Polish nation, we would never bottom out of this crisis which we have.

And therefore I think that sinking new money by the West into Poland, or into any Eastern European country -- U.S.S.R, of course, included -- is suicidal. Because first of all, those who are providing those regimes with the credits, they will never see the money back. Never, I say. Beside, they are only supporting the dictatorships, and, by the way, increasing the Soviet war potential.

You have provided -- I mean the West -- the Eastern countries with something like \$80 billion. This is the equivalent of 80,000 tanks, seven times more than the United States has. So that this is that.

And the second question -- sorry, I -- sorry, I forgot. Oh, whether I agree with President Reagan and what he says about the Soviet intentions, and so on.

I can assure you, assure you, that you are underplaying the Soviet intentions. There is no slightest doubt -- I could even quote right now several examples from my memory how much the Soviets are prepared to jump on the West. It only depends when they will do that and where. Very likely it could be Western Europe, Northern Germany, in Persian Gulf, or somewhere else. And they are deadly serious about it. Very deadly serious.

The Soviet armed forces are the offensive armed forces. And the Warsaw Pact forces, like the Polish Army, is also like that. And there is no joke about that. That superiority which they have already gained in conventional and chemical weaponry and in the number of troops, and so on, is now compounded by the superiority in both tactical and strategic nuclear weapons.

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And I believe that you are the only ones, the Americans, which can reverse that trend, if you only do what you say. Because right now there is much more rhetoric than actual acts. The others are already capitulating before the U.S.S.R.

Don't forget that the combined GNP of Western Germany and France is as big as that one of the U.S.S.R. Whereas militarily speaking, these two countries combined are a peanut comparing to the Soviet war potential. Japan has the GNP almost equal to the Soviet one. And again, militarily, they are a peanut comparing to the Soviets.

If this goes like that, I am very much afraid, very much afraid that there will be the war. I am not going to scare everybody -- and the Soviets will win it.

HOSTESS: Brookfield, Connecticut.

MAN: I have a question for Dr. Rurarz. Knowing the political situation as it is, in his beliefs, the ideology in Poland, that what might happen. But what's going to happen now, presently, with their economy? How are the Polish people going to survive the present economic disaster, I would call it?

RURARZ: Yes. Well, this is a very hard answer for me. The living standard in Poland in the last three years, and especially this year, has been reduced for some groups of the population by as much as 40 percent. And that standard of living was relatively low already. For the next year, another, maybe, 20 percent for most of the people, another reduction in the standard of living can be the case.

Right now, many of the people are quite simply, on the purely medical grounds, undernourished. And this is a tragedy, especially for the children.

But on the other hand, the Poles are quite accustomed to difficult living conditions. And I believe they would never trade certain freedoms for any material improvements. Besides, those material improvements without those freedoms are quite simply impossible.

So that the Poles will certainly endure. And they will be waiting for the better times, in a difficult situation, to be sure. But I am a hundred percent sure that the Poles will never capitulate. Never.

There's only the question, as I was saying, what forms of their resistance they will be opting for. But they will not capitulate. And sooner or later, Jaruzelski and the Soviets will come to a collision with the Polish nation, I believe. It's only

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a question of time.

HOSTESS: Speaking of freedoms for the Polish people, under the civil rule, when martial law is lifted, the government will be imbued with a whole host of other powers. What powers -- how will that affect...

RURARZ: Well, may I quote the example that during the so-called Stalinist era in Poland, '49-53, there was no martial law. And you can believe me that it was much worse than under the martial law recently. People were disappearing from the streets, mysteriously dying. Many were persecuted in all possible ways, and so on, including even the communists, by the way and the army elite. Many Polish officials were shot, quite simply, because the Soviets, who were controlling the Polish Army, were believing that they were nevertheless -- although they were the party members sometimes, that they were the Polish patriots, for example. And they were shot, many of them. So that -- and there was no state of war.

Now, I think one can replace the state of war by fairly the same as it was during the Stalinist era, especially that you have Andropov in the U.S.S.R., who has very long experience in KGB and so on, and he knows how to do that. And he will be pressing Jaruzelski, or anybody as who will be his successor, to do exactly what the Soviets would like to do.

HOSTESS: Arlington, Virginia.

MAN: Yes, Mr. Ambassador. Historically, given the poor relations between the Soviet Union and Japan, how would you assess Soviet intentions in their relations toward the Japanese government?

And secondly, as Ambassador to Japan from Poland, what were Polish relations with Japan? That is, what were your objectives as Ambassador to Japan?

RURARZ: Well, starting with the second question -- second part of your question. Before the martial law was declared, the relations between the Polish government and the Japanese [technical difficulties] and improving. And I personally had very good relations with the Japanese government. And should martial law been not declared in Poland, I think that those relations were very, very promising.

When it comes to the Soviet relations with Japan, they are quite simply intimidating Japan. You know that they have these four islands, northern islands, and there are the military bases around. And they are even strengthening recently. And I think the Japanese are quite aware of that. And I think that

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you, the Americans, are even more aware of that. And you press the Japanese to do something about that.

Of course, the Japanese, they have some problems in complying with legitimate requests by the U.S. Government. They are doing something; however, not as much as they should, I believe. Because for Japan to spend one percent of their GNP on defense is really nothing, especially that they are that vitally dependent on the sea lines and on the defense in general of their air space and so on.

So I think that they should do more. But, of course, it is a free democratic government, it has its own parliament. And what they will do is up to them.

HOSTESS: San Antonio, Texas.

MAN: About five months ago the United States paid interest on Polish loans from European banks to avoid Poland's default. And my question was, if the United States would have allowed Poland to default on these loans, what effect would it have on the Polish economy and would this have created greater Soviet control over the Polish people?

RURARZ: Well, I was, myself, several times advocating the declaration in default. Well, I understand that the situation is very difficult because the United States is only one of the partners in the club, I would say. There is 15 countries, all together, who have substantial assets in Poland -- well, assets. Now they are certainly not. And the action should be coordinated. And there are some countries, like Western Germany, and so on, who feel that if Poland would be declared in default, they could lose. I think they will lose anyway. And that that could spread to some other Eastern countries, and so on.

Well, I understand that this is a very delicate political question. Although, as I said, I don't believe that anybody will recovery any of the money invested in Eastern Europe and in the U.S.S.R. Probably the situation will be like that, that the West will be again lending the East, rolling over the principal, lending new credits to recover the interest payments, and financing the experts. That is the only possible way out, which is, of course, not a way out, because the debt will be growing, and the bankers and the governments will be never seeing the money back.

So that I think that the hour is truth is coming, and the Western countries will have to do something about that. But many of them are terribly exposed.

Take Austria. Austria has lent for about \$6 billion to

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the East. Taking on a per capita basis, here in the United States it would be the equivalent of something like \$160 billion.

So by declaring the country or the countries in default, you would never see that money back, legally even.

So that many people have certain [unintelligible]. But whether they would see that money back without declaring those countries in default, well, I don't know. But from a purely legal point of view, Poland is not servicing the inter-governmental debts. Only come commercial banks are getting some of the money. And besides, I don't believe that if nothing is basically changed, that Poland would be able to serve -- not only Poland; the other countries too.

HOSTESS: Jacksonville, Florida.

MAN: Let me welcome the Ambassador, and also to let him be assured that the American people would certainly have his concern for his family, and we would empathize with him in that relationship, and know what he must be going through there.

And thirdly, real quickly, to say that let me encourage him to continue this type dialogue and to offer himself for cross-examination. It's been most informative, and points of view that we really don't get the chance to have expressed to us from people who are really involved with it.

Now to my question. We hear much in this country about those who say that this Russian buildup of arms and their control of Eastern Europe, and things, is strictly because of their paranoia through history about different countries invading them. And then these same people will use the argument that we have a paranoia ourselves, that we really think the Russians are slowly going to pick away at us, which really they don't have these goals or ambitions.

And is this true about both of us? Or is there one point of view more sure about that? And you, as a Pole, did you ever fear that the Americans wanted to use their techno...

HOSTESS: Caller, do you think the Soviet Union has those intentions?

MAN: Do I think they're expansionist?

HOSTESS: Yes.

MAN: Yes. I'm one who believes that their will -- they are there to probe our weaknesses when we allow them. That's the reason they have this large forces. And to suppress and to keep

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their people in line, which we've never used our power to try and suppress a person, to make them believe the way we wanted to. The only thing we ever used, I think, and what history teaches me and what I've been either brainwashed to believe -- that the only thing we used our power for was to allow people to have their freedoms.

HOSTESS: Do you think the Soviets were behind the assassination attempt of the Pope?

MAN: Evidence indicates that. I can't be sure of that. Except from what we've been told, it would seem that -- I can see how it would be logical that they would be. I'm not absolutely sure, but I think that it could fit in the scheme of things.

But he's more involved in this type thing. He seems to have had some history with them. Do they have a true paranoia, or do they have expansionist goals?

RURARZ: Well, I think that, as I was already saying, that you are a bit underplaying the Soviet threat. And if you look at the Soviet behavior in the last 30 years, or something like that, you can very easily detect that they slowly, or even sometimes not that much slowly, are creeping forward. And ever more, they somehow grab under their control.

It happened last year that I was in [unintelligible] and I saw the Soviet big fighters and the Soviet officers. So wherever you go, you see the new places where they move forward. And I think that they are very much prepared for the strike, I think, in Western Europe, in Northern Germany, as I was saying.

If you look at the map -- I don't know why sometimes you are not attaching the importance to that -- and if you would see how the Soviet troops are deployed, how much they are armed, and so on, you would clearly see that this is exactly the situation in which 24 hours -- sometimes it could be in 48, but I believe that the front-line troops could [unintelligible] readiness could be made in 24 hours -- that they can strike. And I can assure you that the Third Soviet Guard Division, which is composed of five divisions, four tank divisions and one motorized rifle division, could break the crust of the Western defenses, of the Bundeswehr, because the American Army is to the south. And immediately, over these German flanks, 22 Soviet divisions plus six East German and 15 Polish would enter; and in three days' time would be probably half of Western Germany, Denmark, the Netherlands and Belgium taken, if the U.S. would not use their nuclear tactical weapons.

And here is the situation, whether you would use.

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Because right now the Soviets, they have the superiority in theater nuclear weapons in Europe and in strategic ICBMs. You would be risking your own territory.

And if you don't use that, I can assure you that the conventional chemical attack by the Soviet and some Eastern European armies would win, if it would materialize. This is not a paranoia. I'm only wondering why many people do not believe in that. If they don't believe, well, they should explain why the Soviets have four times more tanks in this so-called northern [unintelligible], which is 250 miles long in Western Germany -- in Northern Germany. Why they have such a superiority. In close-support combat planes is also almost four times the superiority. Everything is prepared for the attack.

They may not decide to attack because there is the Persian Gulf, there is some other possibilities, and so on. And besides, the Polish situation, I think, has very much foiled their strategy plans.

But this is that. And I don't know why this is played down and believed that this is paranoia, that if some people say this, this is not true. Well, I can assure you, with all the responsibility, I know this very well because I was very much, myself, involved in that.

The intelligence service of all the Warsaw Pact countries is gathering all the information concerning the possibility of the roads, of the bridges, of everything, of all the details, air shelters, everything. And this is updated on a continuous basis.

Why you need -- why you think this is really needed? And this is not only covering the NATO countries in Western Europe, but also Switzerland, for instance.

I can assure you I am not lying.

HOSTESS: ...Let's go out to Warren, Michigan.

MAN: Maybe we'll take this down to more of a personal level. I'm a young man of Polish descent and my relatives speak Polish and we go to Polish meetings and groups and have general Polish-American activities. Yet the question to us, what can we do here in America? Is there something that the people of Poland would want us to do, those that our ancestors had come to America in the last hundred years? Perhaps is there something that we, being in a country that is free, would have more options available to us to change things in the world, to help other people?

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HOSTESS: Caller, do you have some thoughts on what we might do?

MAN: Well, of course, we write letters. And sometimes we wonder of the censorship -- just to keep the people over there aware that we are concerned and to give them hope. But we really don't know what we could do as far as the governments are concerned.

HOSTESS: Would you support continuing economic sanctions against the Polish government, even though perhaps they might hurt the Polish people themselves?

MAN: I'm really [unintelligible] understand all the implications of the economic policies. But I really don't -- I really wouldn't want any of our money going toward the military aspects of the economy.

RURARZ: Well, I think that what the Poles here can do, well, they should stay united and they should exercise the influence on the senators, members of the House, on the government. And by the way, this is being done. And I think that they remain active. But I would wish they would be more active, as the case was during the First World War. And I think that this large Polish community in the United States and the other Western countries could be very much influential. And I would wish more activities by this community. And I think that this will be the case. I strongly believe that.

Well, as I say, well, it's up to you. You decide. You are meeting over there. I am hardly showing up during such meetings, and so on. But I believe you also will find the proper way.

HOSTESS: Mr. Ambassador, what do you think about the economic sanctions?

RURARZ: Well, I think that the economic sanctions should be definitely continued. And there is absolutely -- the just decision by the U.S. Government, with the MFN treatment, with the credits which have been suspended, and so on, this is absolutely so. Because after all, by assisting the junta, or the Polish government, you would be, in a way, facilitating its situation. And then the government would be oppressing the people and would be even rewarded for that oppression. And this could be a wrong signal to the Polish nation.

So that I think that what has been done by the United States was the right decision. I would only wish that some other Western governments would do the same. However, they did not do that. And I think that the United States should also not forget

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about the U.S.S.R., who is the main instigator and the main troublemaker in Poland.

And this is, of course, a much more complicated question, even, as we know, because Western Europeans, the Japanese do not go along. Although the Americans also, they believe that by selling the grains to the U.S.S.R. you will settle the problem of your agriculture. This is also wrong.

But -- well.

HOSTESS: Seattle, Washington.

MAN: Mr. Ambassador, I just want to say God bless, and I just wish yu the best of luck in trying to free Poland.

I want to say a few things to the listeners out there in America concerning communism and the worldwide communist movement. The American Congress in 1950 passed the Subversive Activities Control Act of 1950. And it says, "As a result of evidence adduced before various committees of the Senate and the House of Representatives, Congress hereby [unintelligible] that there exists a world communist movement which, in its origins, in its development and its present practice, is a worldwide revolutionary movement whose purpose it is, by treachery, to seek infiltration into other groups, governmental and otherwise...."

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RURARZ: Well, I know, I think, quite well the history of the assistance by the West to the U.S.S.R., which started right after the revolution. And unfortunately, the Americans played a very substantial role here. I wouldn't like to mention the names. You probably know those names.

And everybody, somehow, was always believing that by investing money in the U.S.S.R., in Eastern Europe, that he's changing the nature of communism, that they will be nicer guys, and so on.

Right now I think you should, you should, after having the experience of almost 65 years of helping the Soviets and communism in general, financially, and not only financially. Sometimes politically too -- that I think that this is the right time now to sum up what are the results of those policies and to draw the proper conclusions.

If you continue -- I mean not -- by saying you, I think the West -- the old policies -- and I believe that many in the West are very much itching to restart this erroneous approach to the Eastern countries, that you can change the nature of

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communism by investing money, by being nice to them, and so on. Well, you will not.

I think Alexander Solzhenitsyn is right, that the communists are writing very openly what they want to do with the West, with the democracies and so on. Somebody, however, does not believe that. He believes that this is only the rhetoric, that they have to say something like that, and after all they do not believe.

You can believe me that I, myself, was within that movement. Although I was Polish, so I was first Polish and afterwards I was in the movement. But I know very well the Soviets. They were not joking about it. They were very serious about that.

Well, I think it's time to realize that.

HOSTESS: Good evening, Cincinnati, Ohio.

MAN: My compliments to the Ambassador. And I would like to ask the Ambassador if he sees [unintelligible] how the other Warsaw Pact nations are holding up, and do you see other countries in the Warsaw Pact having the same problems as Poland, like Hungary and Czechoslovakia? Do you see them having many of the same economic or political problems as your country has?

RURARZ: Well, think about the Polish Army. I have to defend that army. Because during the martial law, the army was very little involved. Only three divisions were taken for some logistical missions, and the soldiers were not having the contact, even, with the workers and with the population. Everything was done by the security police and the special units of the so-called Zomo (?), who are the criminals and so on. So that the Polish Army, which is three-quarters composed of the conscripts, I think one day can carry out the appropriate mission as the Poles can do. And these 200 Polish generals who are siding with Jaruzelski are definitely not those who represent the Polish Army. There are many other senior officers who think otherwise.

They had no occasion, by the way, to demonstrate that. Because if the Soviets would invade Poland, certainly there could be a spontaneous resistance to the Soviets. Here, they were caught by surprise themselves. The Polish Army is well-disciplined. They didn't know how to behave, and so on. Besides, as I said, the Polish Army was staying a bit aside. But I strongly believe that that army one day will properly play their role, and I think that we should remember about that.

There are many, many signs that the soldiers, junior

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officers, and many senior officers do not support that situation which exists in Poland. There is, however, very limited field of maneuver for the time being. But let's be patient.

HOSTESS: Out to Eau Claire, Wisconsin.

MAN: Mr. Ambassador, two short questions. Just how widespread is dissent amongst your people in Poland? And is there a possibility for a revolution in the near future?

RURARZ: Well, first of all, we have to remember that that peaceful revolution which was mostly led by the Solidarity movement, and not only, was mostly composed of the young people, mostly of the young people, of this new generation which does not remember the wartime, and even the first postwar period in Poland. And that new generation of the Poles -- and you should remember that the Polish nation, demographically speaking, is a very young nation. The average age of the Pole is 27 years. So that we're a young nation, demographically speaking.

Those Poles who stayed for 16 months free, the germ of freedom has penetrated their minds. And by force, you will not change the minds of the Poles.

So that this is only a question of time, as I was saying. The powder keg exists in Poland. It is only the question of spark.

HOSTESS: New Orleans, Louisiana.

MAN: Some say that [unintelligible] heading the new Polish government. Why was Jaruzelski chosen over him?

RURARZ: I couldn't hear that.

HOSTESS: Caller, are you still there? Why was Jaruzelski chosen over?

MAN: Stefan Oszowski.

HOSTESS: Stefan Oszowski? Could you give us some background on that?

MAN: Well, I'd heard that Stefan Oszowski was a...

RURARZ: Oh, Olzevski (?), you mean.

MAN: Yes.

RURARZ: Oh, yes, yes. Okay. Yes, yes. I couldn't understand the name.

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Well, why Jaruzelski was chosen by the Soviets and not Olzevski.

The Soviets arrived at the conclusion that the party, the Communist Party is unable to [unintelligible] the situation in Poland. And that the Soviets, who were planning the military coup in Poland through Jaruzelski, they were trusting only him. And they knew that he is the professional, that he can do that. Olzevski has no slightest idea about the army, security police, and so on, although he's pro-Soviet. Jaruzelski has. He has a very good training. He has experience, wartime experience, postwar experience. He is the professional. When he was attending the Soviet War Academy in Moscow, he was the first one among the participants at this War Academy.

So that they believed that he would do the job. And he definitely did, for the time being, at least. So that their choice was here as it was. They wanted to have the professionals who would have some authority among the people.

By the way, Jaruzelski had the reputation among the people that he was not very much pro-Soviet, because he, himself, spent some time in the Soviet concentration camp. His father died over there. And people wanted to believe that he would not follow the Soviet orders. Unfortunately, he did. And that was one of the reasons that also caught by surprise many of the Poles.

But that's not the end of the story. This is the only the beginning.

HOSTESS: All right.

We've been spending the last hour with Dr. Zdzisla Rurarz, the former Polish Ambassador to Japan, who defected to the United States when martial law was imposed there.

In the last remaining minutes, do you see the emergence of the Solidarity union again, or any other movement that might grant freedoms to the...

RURARZ: Well, the Solidarity was never liquidated, as such. It exists in the underground. And I believe it will exist. It has become a symbol and it will exist. However, what will be the form of it, whether this will be only a trade union movement or anything else, it remains to be seen. It will be not erased from the memory of the Poles. Out of the question.

All right.

Thanks to all of our viewers who participated....